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ABSTRACT

The paper analyzes structure and organizational communication within the League of Women Voters. The document is presented in three major sections. The first section traces the history of the League of Women Voters from its origins in the women's suffrage movement to its current involvement with international relations, human rights, and environmental quality. Section two discusses the League's structure and membership. It is a large multi-organization which stresses differentiation into units, integration of activities among units, and adaptation of activities to changing conditions. The League is divided into local, state, and national units, and comprises approximately 140,000 members. Apphoximately 4,000 members are men. Members work on local, state, and national issues in cooperation with league units concerned with those issues. Section three analyzes the League's approach to organizational communication. The League encourages communication among members as well as integration and cooperation among units. Each unit has its own officers and Board of Directors responsible for management of their particular League and who act as representatives of the general membership. Leagues at all levels sponsor committees, workshops, discussion units, and general membership meetings. All members are encouraged to participate in as many activities as possible and to share leadership roles. (Author/DB)

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The League of Women Voters of the United States:

A Case Study In Organizational Communication

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Historical Perspective

The idea of a nonpartisan political organization for women which could provide political education and experience and in this manner contribute to the growth of democracy was conceived in March, 1919 when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt speaking at the 50th Anniversary Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in St. Louis introduced a "League of Women Voters." According to Mrs. Catt, this organization would not only serve as a proper "memorial" to the leaders of the suffrage movement, but would also continue the struggle for suffrage throughout the country and the world:

> As a fitting memorial to a half century of progress, the National American Woman Suffrage Association invites the women voters of the 15 full suffrage states to attend this anniversary convention, and there to join their forces into a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries.[1]

Mrs. Catt, therefore, proposed ". . . a League of Women Voters to 'finish the fight' and to aid in the reconstruction of the nation . . . ."[2] The purpose of this new organization as it appeared in a 1919 League pamphlet was "to foster education in citizenship, to promote forums and public discussions of civic reforms, and to support needed legislation."[3]

Women -- at least those who had worked for the suffrage movement -- enthusiastically responded to Mrs. Catt's idea and vowed to work for the establishment of this League as soon as the 19th Amendment was passed. On May 21, 1919, the 66th Congress passed this Amendment by a huge majority of 304 votes to 90, and on June 4, the Senate passed it by 66 to 30. While the members of the N.A.W.S.A. worked for ratification of the Amendment, they also labored in behalf of the proposed organization. And on February 14, 1920, the League of Women Voters was formally organized at the 51st N.A.W.S.A. Convention in Chicago. In fact, this

Convention turned out to be the last Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the first Convention of the National League of Women Voters. In outlining the purpose of this new organization, Mrs. Catt said the League should have three principal aims:

> 1) to use its utmost influence to secure the final enfranchisement of the women of every state in our own republic and to reach out across the seas in aid of the woman's struggle for her own in every land; 2) to remove the remaining legal discriminations against women in the codes and constitutions of the several states in order that the feet of coming women may find these stumbling blocks removed; 3) to make our democracy so safe for the nation and so safe for the world that every citizen may feel secure and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American republic to lead.[4]

From the beginning, the League adopted a nonpartisan political policy and hence never endorsed any political candidate or party. This nonpartisanship allowed the organization to engage in objective decision-making and served to strengthen the League's position on controversial political issues. Members of the League, however, were encouraged to take an active role in the party of their choice as long as they did so as individual American citizens and not as representatives of the League.[5] As Mrs. Catt told the women at their formative Convention, "The only way to get things done is to get them done on the inside of a political party."[6] Active participation in government, therefore, became a popular slogan for this newly formed organization. As Belle Sherwin, second national President of the League, observed, "Study without action is abortive."[7]

Determined that its first collective act should be to raise the standards of citizenship for females as well as males, the League immediately established a committee on American Citizenship which dedicated its first year to such reforms as "Compulsory education from 6 to 16; education of Adults; English, the national language; higher qualification for citizenship; direct citizenship for women; naturalization for married women; compulsory publication in foreign

language newspapers of lessons in citizenship; schools of citizenship; an oath of allegiance from every man and woman, and an educational qualification for the vote."[8] This high standard for an educated electorate seemed to be the most fundamental step toward improving the morale of the American people and also, toward a better democracy.

Another item of considered importance was the improvement and stabilization of working conditions for women. The League, therefore, quickly organized a committee on the Protection of Women in Industry. Similarly, committees were established on Child Welfare, Social Hygiene, Improvement of Election Laws and Methods, Unification of Laws Concerning the Civil Status of Women, Food Supply and Demand, and Research, the last committee being supplementary to all others.

The preceding committees thoroughly researched their respective subjects before taking a stand on any specific issue. Once the committee members arrived at a consensus, they presented their recommendations to the entire League which in turn voted on these items. The League then publicly announced its position. In addition, the League urged its members to write to their representatives in Congress in order to exert influence on behalf of public sentiment.

Most of the policies supported by the newly formed group truly reflected "needed legislation." During its first year, for example, the League maintained the need for legislation pertaining to improved health regulations (e.g., pure-food laws, regulation of the meat-packing industry, social-hygiene legislation, and maternity-infancy protective ordinances); improved labor statutes (e.g., child-labor laws, wage-hour legislation, a minimum wage act, a merit system in local, state and federal government agencies, wages based on occupation and not on sex, a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, and collective bargaining); improved educational standards (e.g., compulsory education for all children between 6 and 16 for nine months of every year, adult education by extension classes of the

public schools, and citizenship training in every state); and improved legal and social status for women (e.g., independent citizenship for married women, equal interest of spouses in each other's real estate, equal guardianship by both parents of children and property of children, uniform marriage and divorce laws in every state, and jury service for women).

Besides advocating the passage of legislative reforms, the League took an active part in educating the newly enfranchised woman voter. Classes were instituted throughout the suffrage states to explain the proper way to mark a ballot as well as several other regulations for registration and voting. The League was particularly enthusiastic about enrolling women in political parties and thus engaged in massive campaigns to register these new voters.

By the time the National League of Women Voters met in Cleveland for its second annual convention, it had earned a reputation for being a "vital, live, fighting organization with red blood in its veins . . . ."[9] Moreover, Clara Savage Littledale stated in a 1921 issue of Good Housekeeping magazine that "This organization did something that no other woman's organization has done. They proved themselves honest and keen and capable and of a political sagacity which will mean something in the life of this country. They got right at the root of things."[10]

As the second year passed, the League expanded its interests and goals. The Committee on the Improvement of Election Laws and Methods, for instance, was elevated to a Department of Government Efficiency and, as such, declared "open warfare on bossism, on corruption, on trickery, and all other bad influences that aim to make America a democracy in name only."[11] By 1923, the purpose of the League was extended to include efficiency in government and international peace. In the late 1920's, for example, Leaguers supported the "Lame Duck" Amendment which made it possible for the President, Vice President, and Congress to take

office in January following election in November rather than waiting until March to be sworn in; this Amendment was finally passed in 1932 and ratified in 1933.

During the 1930's, the League of Women Voters dedicated itself to the cause of international cooperation. It advocated U.S. membership in the League of Nations and in the World Court and gathered strong support for world disarmament. By 1938, the League had become so influential in public affairs that its purpose was concisely stated as being "political education through active participation of citizens in government."[12]

In December, 1940, the United States began an all out effort to aid the victims of Hitler's aggression (e.g., Poland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg). The League supported the American policy of aiding the democracies and began a defense program which stressed the point that the United States was aiding the allied nations in order to prevent the spread of war to this country. Unfortunately, the war expanded to the United States. On December 7, 1941, the U.S. was at war with Japan and by December 11, the U.S. declared war on Germany and Italy. Reacting to the shift in the war, the League of Women Voters went from a defense effort to a war effort. Members of the League, for instance, traveled from one state to another educating the public about America's position in the war while also urging citizens to form a united front in order to win the war as quickly as possible. Leaguers also volunteered their services in military canteens and hospitals, but undoubtedly, their greatest efforts were spent in gaining popular support for the necessity of rationing, price control and higher taxes. While the League feverishly worked for the war effort, it also looked to the future and the possibilities for world-wide reconstruction and peace. Between 1943 and 1944, the organization supported U.S. membership in a new international organization dedicated to the peaceful settlements of international disputes. Between 1944 and 1946, it urged U.S. participation in a world-wide relief and rehabilitation program. At that same time, the League's objective was

further simplified to "promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government."[13] Its policy was also stated simply and directly: "The League may take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest. It shall not support or oppose any political party or any candidate."[14]

In the postwar years, the League focused its attention on several political, economic and social problems which were caused by the war. It advocated American support of the United Nations Charter and carried on an intensive educational program to familiarize the American people with the policies of the United Nations. Similarly, it conducted an expansive information drive on the subject of atomic energy and thus, is credited with stimulating enough popular support to influence the Congress to pass a law which placed atomic energy under civilian control rather than military control.

In the 1950's, the League actively supported many of the United Nations' recommendations for peace and world-wide development. It was particularly supportive in behalf of the Mutual Security Program which provided economic aid and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.

During the last two decades, the League of Women Voters spent a great deal of time on issues pertaining to international relations, environmental quality and human rights. In the field of international relations, for instance, the League was praised for its part in the passage of the 1969 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and also, for urging the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. In the area of environmental quality, the League was credited with the passage of the 1965 Water Resources Planning Act as well as several increases in federal funding for local sewage plant construction. Finally, in the field of human rights, the League of Women Voters has been very active in statewide Equal Rights Amendment ratification coalitions and in working to increase public awareness of what the E.R.A. is and what it will do.

Structure and Membership: The League Develops Into An Actual Association of Members

The League began as the National League of Women Voters and, as such, inherited its formal structure from the National American Woman Suffrage Association. State Leagues were the backbone of the organization and, thus, the League was considered a federation of state Leagues. Originally, representatives of state Leagues met annually to select the year's program which was the same for national, state and local Leagues. By the late 1920's, the League's National convention was held biannually and state delegates continued to dominate the meeting and choose a program which was, at the same time, national, state and local in scope. These state delegates were also responsible for selecting the national officers and board of directors. At this time, local Leagues were not represented at the conventions and, in fact, the grassroots membership played only a small part in the League's activities.

In the late 1920's, the League's program became broader and the Committee/Department system became highly specialized. Each Department researched its subject extensively and produced specialists in its respective subject area. Although the League made great contributions in public affairs, the education and development of the individual citizen suffered. The maturation of the informed and active citizen actually decreased in importance and seemed no longer a guiding principle of the League. It was not until the mid 1930's that the League's directors recognized the fact that the organization had developed into a system of specialization rather than a system of active participation by many average women. Consequently, upon assuming the presidency of the national League in 1934, Miss Marguerite Wells was quick to remind the organization "that it was not meant to be a group of specialists, that it was a group of laywomen, and that it adopted a Program and supported legislation in order to give citizens practice

in the responsibilities of democracy."[15] As Ms. Wells pointed out, "' A Program participated in by the few rather than the many is alien to the League's purpose.... Good citizenship requires not only knowledge but ability to act .... To cause more people to use effectively what knowledge they possess seems to be the unique aim of the League of Women Voters.'"[16]

During the middle-to-late 1930's, the National League encouraged local and state Leagues to form small discussion groups on several important topics, including the causes of World War II and survival techniques in case of war. By 1944, the National Board of Directors abolished the Department system and dedicated itself to restructuring the organization. Emphasis was placed on the concept of a membership organization and on the importance of local Leagues. The League was no longer a federation of state Leagues, but rather, an association of members enrolled in local Leagues whose power was vested in its grassroots membership. In fact, the primary concern of the League centered on local government. As reported by Martin Gruberg in Women in American Politics:

> ...LWV members have the greatest interest in local current agenda items. These problems are close to home, where developments can be watched and members can see the results of their efforts firsthand. "Living without sewers is a daily problem while war may become real only when one's son goes off to fight."[17]

In 1946, the organization was renamed the League of Women Voters of the United States. Two years later, the establishment of the unit system truly demonstrated the League's desire for a greater amount of interaction between the grassroots membership and the Board of Directors. A unit is a small, informal discussion group organized by local Leagues to encourage the exchange of ideas and opinions on specific program issues. After the unit completes its study and discussion of its respective topic, the unit leader reports to the local board on the comments and suggestions of the group. If the topic under discussion relates to a state or national issue, the local board reports its members' viewpoints to the appropriate board of directors. Thus, if the issue is of national interest, the National

Board of Directors can accurately evaluate members' opinions throughout the United States. And when the National League takes a stand on a certain issue, it is representative of the average American citizen.

When an individual joins the League in her own community, she automatically becomes a member of her state League and the League of Women Voters of the United States. A member works through her local League in the field of government in her community. A state League is made up of local Leagues and concerns itself with state issues. All members work on state and national matters through their local Leagues. The grassroots membership is also responsible for establishing the policies for all three levels.

Up until 1974, full-voting membership was open to any woman citizen, eighteen years or older, while anyone else could become an associate or non-voting member. In 1974, however, the group agreed to extend voting privileges to men who are at least eighteen years old. Furthermore, there are members-at-large -- members who live outside the area of and are not affiliated with a local League. They join a state League or, if residing outside the United States, the League of Women Voters of the United States. Members-at-large do not have voting privileges.

As of 1976, there were approximately 140,000 members in 1,350 local Leagues in all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Out of this membership, there are about 4,000 men but the organization maintains it will not change its name to reflect its heterosexual make-up. According to Mrs. Ruth Clusen, the current President of the League, "The men who joined the League said they joined for what we stand for. They don't want us to change our name."[18]

The League of Women Voters: An Example of the Systems Approach to Organizational Communication

No study of any organization would be complete without an analysis of the group's approach to organizational communication. This is particularly true when the organization resembles the League of Women Voters of the United States: that is, when it has a large membership and when it is structured along well-defined hierarchical levels. This researcher, therefore, analyzed the communication methods used by the League of Women Voters and found this organization to be an excellent example of the systems approach to organizational communication. According to this school of organizational theory, a system is a set of interdependent parts whereby the whole is equal to more than the sum of its parts. Thus, the system must be examined as a whole to be fully understood and appreciated. Lawrence and Lorsch clearly point out the application of this approach to organizational communication in their book, Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration:

> At the most general level we find it useful to view an organization as an open system in which the behaviors of members are themselves interrelated. The behaviors of members of an organization are also interdependent with the formal organization, the tasks to be accomplished, the personalities of other individuals, and the unwritten rules about appropriate behavior for a member.... Further, this relationship among organization members is also influenced by the nature of the task being performed, by the formal relationships, rewards, and controls, and by the existing ideas within the organization about how a well-accepted member should behave. It is important to emphasize that all these determinants of behavior are themselves interrelated.[19]

In applying this theory to organizational behavior patterns, the researcher can readily see that every action has an impact on the entire organization.

"Differentiation" and "integration" are two essential conditions for a growing organization if it is to function as an effective and efficient system: "... as systems become large, they differentiate into parts, and the functioning of these separate parts has to be integrated if the entire system is to be

viable."[20] The operating of these units or parts of the system must also be linked together so that the organization's over-all purpose can be accomplished. Moreover, this organization must adapt to the world outside since it is in continuous interaction with its external environment. The League of Women Voters of the United States is a large multi-organization that subscribes to the practices of differentiation, integration and adaptation, and, as such, is a typical example of the systems school approach to organizational communication.

As mentioned previously, the League of Women Voters operates on three levels: local, state and national. When a woman joins the League in her own community, she automatically becomes a member of her state League and the League of Women Voters of the United States. These three levels function interdependently with the individual member as the base for the League as a whole. Every woman, for instance, works through a local League in the field of local government in her own community. Similarly, members of local Leagues within the same state form a state League and work together on problems concerning state government. Finally, through her local League, each member works on national governmental issues. In addition, every League, be it local, state or national, is divided up into committees, workshops and discussion units in order "to give the member every chance to voice her views and to take an active part in all League activities."[21] In reality, it is the grassroots membership which determines the policies for all three levels: each level meets, elects officers and chooses the program for a one or two year period. As is typical with the systems school of organizational communication, the League considers formal and informal communication an essential element in holding the 1,350 Leagues together. Communication freely flows downwardly and upwardly across hierarchical levels as well as horizontally across the same organizational level. It is evident, therefore, that the League's structure lends itself to the basic principles in a systems school approach to organizational communication: the League recognizes the fact that if it is to survive as a

viable organization and successfully carry out its objectives, it must encourage interrelationships among its many members as well as integration and cooperation among its many units. It also believes in adapting to situational conditions, such as the breakdown in traditional sex-roles, and has demonstrated this attitude by allowing men to join the League on an equal status with women.

Strong leadership is needed in a complex organization, such as the League of Women Voters, to coordinate the group's activities and insure the success of its programs. According to Lawrence and Lorsch,

> ...the effective multiple-organization will require not just a few such leaders, but many of them. All the evidence...points to the need for multiple leadership in these complex organizations. As they cope with heterogeneous and dynamic environments, the issues and knowledge involved become too complicated for only a few leaders to understand.[22]

Since every League, be it local or state, operates as a small sub-system or organization within the larger national organization, every League has its own officers and board of directors. Local League bylaws and state League bylaws provide for the specific number of board members for each respective League. Local League officers and half of the board of directors are elected at the annual meeting while the other half of the directors are appointed by the elected officials. The officers and directors of the state boards are nominated by a nominating committee and are elected by the local delegates at the state convention biennially. The elected officials appoint additional directors according to the League's new program. The same procedure is used at the national level with the election held at the national convention.

All officers and directors of local and state Leagues are responsible for the management and affairs of their particular League. They are chairpersons for local, state or national program items; unit organization; voters service; membership; finance; public relations; and publications. In all cases, however, these officials are acting as representatives of the general membership and, as such,

carry out the members' decisions. As stated in L-O-O-K: League Organization Orientation Kit, "They [the officers and directors] provide information, plan for discussion, and promote action on local, state, and national programs CHOSEN BY THE MEMBERSHIP within the limits of a budget ADOPTED BY THE MEMBERSHIP."[23] On a much broader scale, the national board of directors is considered the administrative and policy-making arm for the entire League. It provides guidance and leadership for carrying out member decisions and is responsible for all of the plans and projects on local, state, regional and national items; citizen information and voters services; and all organizational and managerial matters including membership growth and participation, development of procedures which meet the needs of the members and enable the League to achieve its purposes, financing, public relations, and, administrative activities needed to make the League effective.

All Leagues, whether local, state or national, are structured alike. All Leagues, for instance, have committees, workshops, discussion units and general membership meetings which provide opportunities for individual members to learn about the League, governmental problems, and strategies for dealing with these problems. Members are encouraged to express their own ideas and to become active participants in government. Committees, for example, are designed to help with the work in a specific area -- whether it's a program item, citizen information/voters service, or an administrative function such as membership, finance or public relations. All members are encouraged to take part in committee work to build wide member participation in activities and to give as many members as possible a chance to experience leadership roles. A resource committee handles a specific program item. This committee is responsible for collecting and integrating information; presenting the information to the members; formulating questions for member agreement; summarizing possible decision-making methods; suggesting action; and taking part in the action on the issue once the position

is reached. Workshops, on the other hand, are study groups intended for members who want to research and study an issue during a limited number of meetings.

In simple terms, discussion units are small, informal discussion groups which meet to promote the exchange of opinions on specific program issues. Items under discussion are those which have been selected by the membership for inclusion in the local, state and national programs. Most local Leagues with fifty or more members arrange to have these units while Leagues with forty or fewer members omit the unit system and instead hold regularly scheduled general meetings which serve the same purposes. A very large League might have as many as twelve or more units, each with approximately five officers in charge of a variety of assignments: for example, unit leader, discussion leader, recorder, membership chairperson, publications chairperson, and so forth. A small League may have a unit leader and a discussion leader with other members taking on some of the leadership responsibilities. A unit leader acts as the executive officer for the unit and chairs the meetings. A discussion leader encourages all members of the unit to participate in the discussion.

General membership meetings are used to preserve the unity of the local League by inviting all members to come together for shared interaction. These meetings take place a few times each year and focus on a number of different concerns, including the local League annual meeting, program-making meetings and meetings to which guest speakers have been invited. General meetings also give the board of directors a chance to inform the members of its plan for carrying out a particular program and, in turn, to receive comments and suggestions from the membership.

As is obvious from the preceding comments, the League of Women Voters stimulates upward and downward communication between an individual member and her local board of directors, who in turn, is involved in upward and downward communication with either the state or national board, depending upon the issue

under consideration. Furthermore, the League nurtures horizontal communication between members of the same local League as well as between members of different Leagues. The League, for example, encourages local Leagues to work cooperatively on common problems and state projects.

Simon, in his book, Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization observed that:

> ...the actual physical task of carrying out an organization's objectives falls to the persons at the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy....
> It is equally clear that the persons above this lowest or operative level in the administrative hierarchy are not surplus baggage, and that they too must have an essential role to play in the accomplishment of the agency's objectives.[24]

Simon also remarked that

> ...the behavior of individuals within administrative organizations, is purposive-oriented toward goals or objectives. This purposiveness brings about an integration in the pattern of behavior, in the absence of which administration would be meaningless; for, if administration consists in "getting things done" by groups of people, purpose provides a principal criterion in determining what things are to be done.[25]

The League of Women Voters of the United States clearly exemplifies Simon's systems school description of the administrative hierarchy and process. In truth, it is the individual member -- the person at the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy -- who carries out the League's purpose "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." It was Mrs. George Gellhorn, of Missouri, for instance, who went from house to house in 1921 trying to register women voters. In discovering that good roads meant more to the Missouri women than did national politics, Gellhorn decided to lead the fight for better road conditions. She drove from one house to another and questioned women in the following way:

"Going to vote this fall?"

"No'm, I reckon I'll let Bill do the votin' for the family."

"How does Bill vote?"

> "Oh, sometimes one way, sometimes another. I don't take no int'rust in politics."
>
> "How about these roads here? Wouldn't you like to have better roads so the children could get to school regularly in the winter?"
>
> "Yes, ma'am" -- emphatically, "I would that! My youngest children, they don't git to school more'n half the time 'count of these roads."[26]

As a result of Mrs. Gellhorn's strenuous efforts, many Missouri women turned out to vote. As stated by the Leaguer, "It seemed as if every woman recognized all at once her power to improve matters locally, and turned out to exercise it."[27]

Although the preceding example took place over fifty-five years ago, League members are still actively engaged in implementing the organization's objectives. Whether the members are registering voters, encouraging education in citizenship, promoting discussions of civic reforms, or lobbying in favor of needed legislation, they are physically involved in carrying out the League's objectives, and hence, enable the League to function as an efficient, effective and viable system.

Simon's evaluation of the non-operative level in the administrative hierarchy is applicable to the League's board of directors on all three levels since they all play an important part in coordinating the members' efforts to accomplish the organization's over-all purpose. The leaders of this organization have also prevented a concentration of power in the hands of a few and have taken many steps to insure a democratic organization controlled by its membership. It is evident, therefore, that the League of Women Voters of the United States is an excellent example of the systems approach to organizational communication and behavior.

Footnotes

1. Forty Years of a Great Idea. Washington, D.C.: The League of Women Voters of the United States, Publication No. 266, 1960, p. 9.

   At the time of the Convention, the fifteen full suffrage states included Wyoming, 1869; Colorado, 1893; Idaho, 1896; Utah, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Kansas, 1912; Oregon, 1912; Arizona, 1912; Montana, 1914; Nevada, 1914; New York, 1917; Michigan, 1918; Oklahoma, 1918, and South Dakota, 1918.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

4. Ibid.

5. Board members, however, are not allowed to partake in partisan political activities since they are responsible for guaranteeing the League's non-partisanship policy.

6. In League: Guidelines for League Boards. Washington, D.C.: The League of Women Voters of the United States, Publication No. 275, 1975, p. 1.

7. Forty Years of a Great Idea, p. 11.

8. Carrie Chapman Catt, "Women Voters at the Crossroads," The Public: A Journal of Democracy, May 31, 1919, p. 570.

9. Clara Savage Littledale, "To Everywoman, Citizen," Good Housekeeping, July, 1921, p. 46.

10. Ibid.

11. Quoted in "To Everywoman, Citizen," p. 130.

12. In League: Guidelines for League Boards, p. 2.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Forty Years of a Great Idea, p.34.

16. Ibid.

17. Martin Gruberg, Women in American Politics. Oshkosh, Wisconsin: Academia Press, 1968, p. 89. Quotation was originally cited in The Member and the League, Washington, D.C.: The League of Women Voters of the United States, Publication No. 264, March, 1960, pp. 2-3.

18. Nancy Hicks, "After the Debates, League of Women Voters Sorts Things Out," The New York Times, Nov. 18, 1976, p. 48.

19. Paul R. Lawrence and Jay W. Lorsch, Organization and Environment: Managing Differentiation and Integration. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. 1969, p. 6.

20. Ibid., p. 7.

21. L-O-O-K: League Organization Orientation Kit. Indianapolis: The League of Women Voters of Indiana, 1974, "Structure," p. 1.

22. Lawrence and Lorsch, p. 243.

23. L-O-O-K: League Organization Orientation Kit, "Structure," p. 2.

24. Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961, p. 2.

25. Ibid., p. 4.

26. Quoted in Elisabeth Sears, "Way Down South in Dixie," Good Housekeeping, May, 1921, p. 62.

27. Ibid.